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Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 EA-10 AF-10
NEA-10 USIE-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 /090 W
----------068928 062218Z /63
O P 061730Z DEC 77
FM AMEMBASSY BERN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5378
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1OF 2 BERN 5731

FROM AMBASSADOR WARNKE

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, OX
SUBJ: USUSSR INDIAN OCEAN ARMS CONTROL TALKS

1. ON DECEMBER 6, US DELEGATION HEADED BY MR WARNKE MET FOR THREE HOURS WITH SOVIET INDIAN OCEAN DELEGATION HEADED BY AMBASSADOR MENDELEVICH IN THE SOVIET EMBASSY, BERN, SWITZERLAND. MENDELEVICH WAS CHAIRMAN FOR SESSION AND SPOKE FIRST.

2. KEY POINTS OF MENDELEVICH STATEMENTS AS FOLLOWS:

A. BOTH SIDES FULLY AUTHORIZED TO CONDUCT NEGOTIATIONS, DESPITE LIMITED SIZE OF DELEGATIONS.

B. INDICATING INTEREST IN MAXIMUM PROGRESS IN THIS ROUND, HE QUOTED RECENT BREZHNEV STATEMENT THAT "REACHING AN AGREEMENT ON REDUCTIONS ON MILITARY ACTIVITY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN WOULD SERVE THE INTERESTS OF PEACE."

C. IN SUMMARIZING RESULTS OF LAST ROUND, STRESSED MUTUAL DESIRE TO FOLLOW STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH RATHER THAN CONCLUDE COMPRE-
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HENSIVE AGREEMENT AND THAT FIRST STAGE WOULD INVOLVE STABILIZATION. HE WAS AUTHORIZED BY SOVIET "AUTHORITIES" TO CONTINUE TALKS SEEKING AGREEMENT.

D. REFERRED TO CONSIDERABLE INTEREST SHOWN BY THIRD WORLD NATIONS, SOVIET ALLIES AND FRIENDS, MEMBERS OF AD HOC COMMITTEE IN UN, AND WESTERN STATES, INDICATING THAT HE HAD VISITED IRAN,

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TANZANIA, MOZAMBIQUE AND MADAGASCAR IN ACCORDANCE WITH
UNDERSTANDING THAT BOTH SIDES FREE TO PROVIDE CONFIDENTIAL BRIEFINGS
TO ALLIES AND FRIENDS.

E. CLAIMED TO FIND SERIOUS CONCERN IN THOSE COUNTRIES ABOUT
THE I.O. BECOMING A NEW ARENA OF THE STRATEGIC ARMS RACE AND
NOTED LITTORAL STATES WOULD PREFER "RADICAL" MEASURES TO INCLUDE THE
ELIMINATION OF MILITARY BASES, BUT THESE STATES COULD ACCEPT
THE STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH STARTING WITH STABILIZATION.

F. HAD CAREFULLY STUDIED OUR DRAFT FROM LAST ROUND AND SOVIETS
PREPARED TO "ACCEPT": 1) CONCEPT OF "POLITICAL" (I.E. GENERAL)
AGREEMENT WITHOUT SPECIFIC NUMBERS AND PROVIDING FOR SEPARATE
EXCHANGE OF INFO; 2) TEXT SHOULD HAVE "TO SOME EXTENT" FORM OF
A MUTUAL DECLARATION BUT SHOULD NOT SAY SO IN TITLE; 3)
"BASICALLY" ACCEPT STRUCTURE OF LISTING OF OBLIGATIONS WITH SERIOUS
RESERVATIONS CONCERNING VAGUENESS OF OBLIGATIONS, CONFLICT WITH
STABILIZATION (E.G. CONTINUED CONSTRUCTION WORK ON US BASES);
NO OBLIGATION CONCERNING ALLIED FACTOR AND ADJACENT AREAS, AND
LACK OF GEOGRAPHICAL DEFINITION.

G. CONSEQUENTLY SOVIET GOVT HAD PREPARED NEW DRAFT TAKING US
DRAFT AS STARTING POINT IN ATTEMPT TO MOVE FORWARD AND RESOLVE
DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES. SOVIET DRAFT SENT SEPTEL
(BERN 5726).

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3. FOLLOWING ARE MAJOR COMMENTS MENDELVICH OFFERED ABOUT SOVIET
TEXT, KEYED TO DRAFT:

A. TITLE. STRESSES SPECIFICITY OF INITIAL AGREEMENT AND
CONTINUITY OF PROCESS TOWARD REDUCTIONS. DOES NOT USE WORD
"DECLARATION."

B. PREAMBLE. VERY CLOSE TO US PREAMBLE AND FIRST PARA,
ARTICLE I, OF US DRAFT, BUT SOVIET DRAFT MORE SPECIFIC.

C. ARTICLE I, PARA 1. MAJOR STATEMENT OF OBLIGATIONS. FIRST
PARA DEFINES FORCE LEVELS MORE PRECISELY (5 YR AVERAGE). THAN US
DRAFT AND ALSO CONTAINS PROVISION ON ADJACENT AREAS. DREW
ATTENTION TO GREATER SOVIET FLEXIBILITY IN LANGUAGE THAN IN PAST;
WORDING REFERS ONLY TO SHIPS, NOT BASES.

D. ARTICLE I, PARA 2. STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF SPECIFIC REFERENCE
TO STRATEGIC SYSTEMS, ESPECIALLY "LAND-BASED AND SEA-BASED
STRATEGIC AIRCRAFT." NOTED NO MENTION AIRCRAFT CARRIERS.
POSITION IS CONSISTENT WITH CURRENT PATTERN OF OPERATIONS AND
REPRESENTS NO CHANGE WITH REGARD TO STABILIZATION.

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E. PARA 3 (ARTICLE I). US WORDING ON ENLARGING BASE FACILITIES IS NOT ACCEPTABLE AND CANNOT SERVE AS BASIS FOR AGREEMENT.

F. PARA 4 (ARTICLE I). WRITTEN TO AVOID AMBIGUITIES CONCERNING LIMITATIONS ON AUXILIARIES VS. COMBATANTS. REFLECTS PREVIOUS AGREEMENT ON TRANSITS.

G. ARTICLE II. TRIED TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT POSITION OF BOTH SIDES ON ALLIED FACTOR: SOVIET FORMULATION INCLUDES NO INDICATION THAT EACH SIDE WOULD HAVE TO CONTROL ITS ALLIES. US AND USSR WOULD SET EXAMPLE FOR ALLIES, BUT IF ALLIES DID NOT FOLLOW EXAMPLE THERE WAS NOTHING TO BE DONE; HOWEVER, THE OTHER PARTY MUST HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO REMEDY IMBALANCE IN ACCORDANCE WITH PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY.

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H. ARTICLE III. DEVOTED TO CONTINUITY OF PROCESS. NOTED IT SPEAKS OF BEGINNING REDUCTION NEGOTIATIONS WITH 3 MONTHS.

I. ARTICLE IV. MORE SPECIFIC THAN US DRAFT ON CONSULTATIVE MECHANISM.

J. ARTICLE V. TWO DEFINITIONS: INDIAN OCEAN AND TRANSITS. BOTH POSITIONS STATED IN PREVIOUS ROUND.

K. ARTICLE VI. SIMILAR TO US DRAFT EXCEPT THAT USSR PREFERS 3 YEAR PERIOD OF AGREEMENT INSTEAD OF 5 YEARS, WHICH SEEMS UNNECESSARILY LONG TIME TO WORK OUT REDUCTION AGREEMENT. PRE-NOTIFICATION CALLS FOR 3-MONTH NOTICE.

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ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
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NEA-10 USIE-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 /090 W
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SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 BERN 5731

FROM AMBASSADOR WARNKE

4. IN CLOSING, MENDELEVICH NOTED THAT SINCE PRESENT SESSION WOULD NOT PERMIT GETTING INTO DRAFTING, AND SINCE PREVIOUS SESSIONS TENDED TO GET CUT SHORT, HE SUGGESTED SETTING A DATE FOR BEGINNING "PERMANENT" WORK OR "CONTINUOUS" WORK. ("LET US PLAN DATE FOR RECESSES RATHER THAN MEETINGS.") HE WOULD FORESEE COMBINATION OF
PLENARY SESSIONS AND WORKING SESSIONS. (IN EARLIER MEETING WITH SWISS FOREIGN MINISTER, MENDELEVICH INDICATED HE FORESAW BERN AS SITE OF FUTURE SESSIONS.)

5. MR WARNKE MADE PRELIMINARY RESPONSE TO MENDELEVICH STATEMENT AS FOLLOWS:

A. ASKED ABOUT SOVIET VOTE ON IOZP, INDICATING US CONCERN ABOUT POSSIBLE SOVIET SHIFT IN BILATERAL APPROACH TO I.O. NEGOTIATIONS, BUT GRATIFIED SOVIETS STILL SHARE COMMITMENT TO BILATERAL APPROACH.

B. CITING SOVIET STATEMENT ON NEED FOR SPECIFICITY, SUGGESTED US PREFERENCE FOR SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENTS ON MILITARY ACTIVITY SIMILAR TO THAT PROVIDED IN LAST ROUND.
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C. STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF STEP BY STEP APPROACH, BEGINNING WITH STABILIZATION AS FIRST STEP.

6. WARNKE PROVIDED SOME INITIAL SUBSTANTIVE COMMENTS ON SOVIET DRAFT AS FOLLOWS:

A. NOTED USE OF 5-YR AVERAGE IN ARTICLE I COULD BE ACCOMODATED WITHIN SUPPLEMENT TO AGREEMENT.

B. SENTENCE ON ADJACENT AREA APPEARS TO BE IN THE NATURE OF A NON-CIRCUMVENTION CLAUSE. HAVE TO CONSIDER WHETHER SUCH A CLAUSE IS EITHER NECESSARY OR DESIRABLE.

C. US WOULD WANT FURTHER CLARIFICATION ON MEANING OF "ARMED FORCES" IN ARTICLE I.

D. PARA 2 OF ARTICLE I IS INAPPROPRIATE IF IT IMPLIES REDUCTIONS SINCE WE ARE TALKING STABILIZATION. FOR STABILIZATION,

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SPECIFICS SHOULD NOT APPEAR IN DECLARATION BUT BE HANDLED
THROUGH SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENTS.

E. ON PARA 2, ARTICLE I, REITERATED US CONVICTION THAT LIMITED
PROGRAMMED EXPANSION OF DIEGO GARCIA NOT INCONSISTENT WITH
STABILIZATION.

F. ON ARTICLE II, NOTED WORDING IN SOVIET DRAFT COULD LEAVE
LARGE LOOPHOLE FOR ONE SIDE TO INCREASE AS RESULT ACTIVITIES
NOT RELATED TO OTHER PARTY. SUGGESTED SUPREME INTEREST CLAUSE
(ALONG US LINES WITH NON PRE-NOTIFICATION) COULD ACCOMODATE
CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH MIGHT THREATEN INTERESTS.

G. ON ARTICLE III, QUESTIONED WISDOM OF PREDICTING IN ADVANCE
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OUTCOME OF REDUCTION STAGE.

H. ON ARTICLE IV, NOTED CONSULTATIVE MECHANISM COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED
BY DELEGATIONS THEMSELVES SINCE NEGOTIATIONS ON POSSIBLE
MUTUAL REDUCTIONS WOULD BE CONTINUING.

I. ON ARTICLE V, WE DO NOT OBJECT TO PRINCIPLE OF INCLUDING
DEFINITION OF AREA IN AGREEMENT, BUT HOLD TO PREVIOUS US
POSITION ON AREA.

J. ARTICLE VI, CONSIDER 5 YEARS MORE INDICATIVE OF SERIOUSNESS
OF PURPOSE OF STABILIZATION AGREEMENT.

K. NOTED ABSENCE ANY REFERENCE TO UTILIZATION OF FACILITIES
NOTING US SEES DISTINCTION BETWEEN ROUTINE PORT CALLS AND OTHER
FORMS OF USAGE.

7. IN REJOINDER, MENDELEVICH ASSURED US SIDE VOTE ON IOPZ
SIGNALED NO CHANGE OF SOVIET POLICY. NOTED THAT BY RELATING
CRISIS ESCAPE CLAUSE TO ALLIED FACTOR, US SIDE HAD RECOGNIZED
POTENTIAL THREAT OF ALLIED FACTOR. FELT THAT RELIANCE ON
ESCAPE CLAUSE WOULD MAKE AGREEMENT TOO FRAGILE.

8. WARNKE REPLIED THAT ON IOPZ VOTE, US DISAGREED WITH SOVS BUT
UNDERSTAND EXPLANATION. REJECTED ALLIED FACTOR AS A POLITICAL
REALITY AND NOTED FRAGILITY WOULD COME FROM UNILATERAL BUILDUP
IN RESPONSE TO THIRD PARTY ACTIVITY.

9. BOTH SIDES AGREED TO MEET AGAIN ON THURSDAY AND SATURDAY.
NEXT MEETING WILL BE THURSDAY, DECEMBER 8, AT US EMBASSY.
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Message Attributes

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Disposition Approved on Date:
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